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Angneló, the sister of Kangndáin. Kangndáin had married Thunder Storm's sister and the two men had become almost inseparable. Though they are dead their relationship is perpetuated today in the relationship of their sons. But it was only after Kangndáin had married Thunder Storm's sister that Thunder Storm married Angneló. It is not at all rare among the Kaingáng that when a man marries another man's sister, her brother marries her husband's sister. The constant companionship of the two men, thrown together by the first marriage, brings this about in an informal way. Chukembégn, who deserted his wife Tendó and three children, was "led away" from her by his brother-in-law's sister, a young woman whom he saw day after day in his sister's house.

There is still another way in which polygyny may come about and that is if a wife calls another woman to "work with her." The husband, ostensibly, has no hand in the matter at all. The woman who does this gains a helper and companion, one who will nurse her children when she is away, who will accompany her on fruit-gathering expeditions, who will relieve her of the heavy loads of meat she has to transport and who will care for her when she is ill. At the same time, however, she assumes in herself an ability to share which experience may prove to be non-existent. But the Kaingáng tell me, the first wife may become so jealous of the second that her continual anger at last drives the second wife out, even after she has borne as many as two children. First wives never leave in such a situation. Thus it comes about that a second wife in a polygynous marriage shifts about a good deal. If she is heckled by the first wife she begins to look more seriously on her lovers, and when she slips out of one marriage she slips as easily into another.

Polygyny is not always an entirely pleasant experience for a man, for although it is good to have a second wife during the several months after childbirth when intercourse with the mother is stopped, and two wives lighten each other's and their husband's burdens and bring in more food, a man must put up with their quarreling between themselves and the insults of either one who feels herself slighted.

Every marriage system is organized around some system of ideas no matter how unformulated they may be. Our own culture continually balances the ideal of love against the desire for property. The ideas that serve as the basis for the contraction of marriage carry within them the criteria by which all individuals are judged. We value people insofar as they are lovable or rich and powerful. Our ideas of what we consider a desirable sex companion are pretty clearly formulated and furnish the subject of many a conversation. But the Kaingáng are not educated to an ideal of love, and they have not formulated success in life in terms of wealth or prestige. Even raiding the Brazilians has given them little property, and

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xtion of this dependence, is not enough to stabilize any relationship among 621
them even today, for there are any number of men with whom an indi- 671
vidual may join forces, and if he hunts with his father today he may go away with his wife's father tomorrow and with his sister's husband the day after. Nothing compels him to fix his allegiance.

Nevertheless the Kaingáng had achieved a certain degree of social co- 585
hesion, and one of the ways in which they managed it was by building 592
permanent cooperating units around their sex interests. It is in this way 582
that social integration, although explicitly expressed in terms of the economically important men, often actually revolved about the women. As in the case of Kanggá and her mother, the women often became the nuclei of polyandrous and also of joint marriages, which often changed their male composition frequently. Thus by her mere existence the woman held together a complex household, which disintegrated when she died. A general lack of formal rules for marriage permitted the easy building up of large *ménages* by gradual additions of men and women. A household might begin with either a monogamous or a polygynous marriage; as time passed another man might be added to the household and become the co-husband; perhaps another wife was added and then another man. Through the years the family would expand and contract or simply change as the wives or husbands died or were killed off in feuds or the raids of the bugreiros.

The Indians told me of the marriages of Wanyekí.[2] Together with his wife Tendó, his sister and his hunting companion Chu, he wandered about, far away from other members of the tribe. This was nothing unusual for the Kaingáng, who sometimes did not see one another for years. When Chu's wife died Wanyekí's wife cooked and made a sleeping-place for him, simply, as the Kaingáng put it, "because he had no wife," and he became her co-husband. So Chu was saved for Wanyekí and his little isolated band and did not wander away in search of another wife. But as time passed Tendó, the wife, died, and Wanyekí and Chu were left alone. Until his nieces, his sister's daughters, grew to adolescence, Wanyekí had no wife. Then one day his sister said to him: "Wanyekí, live with them. There are no other women. They are in the same position as you—there are no men. So go around with them. There is no one else for you to marry. So marry them." Chu had died in the meanwhile, so Wanyekí, who already had had two wives married these three girls, who were much younger than he. This kind of relationship is not difficult for a Kaingáng girl, for far from wishing to retain her hold on the recreations of her childhood she looks forward to the sexual experiences that she has been urged to seek ever since she was a baby in arms.

Wanyekí lived alone with his three wives, his sister's daughters, until

[2] See footnote p. 30.

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they each bore him a child. Then he joined forces with two men whom he had left long ago, and he once more became monogamous, for two of his wives left him to live with these men. Wanyekí did not object. Even though his wives took their sons with them the children remained attached to their father and were frequently in his camp. If Wanyekí had objected there would have been two courses open to him. He could have beaten his wives, in which case they would have left him anyway, or he could have quarreled with the men. In the latter case he would have lost the companionship of the angry men, who would certainly have left him. Actually Wanyekí lived for many years on friendly terms with them, and they continued to make love to his remaining wife Amendó even though they now had wives of their own.

Soon after this Wanyekí was joined by two other men, who became the co-husbands of Amendó, and when Wanyekí's son Véye by his first and now long-dead wife grew to manhood he too shared his father's wife. So father and son, instead of glowering at each other across the fire out of their jealous desire for the same woman, cohabited with her in peace, strengthening the precarious bonds of Kaingáng society. The solution would not be the same in every case, for in another such household Kangndádn beat his son and drove him out for daring to copulate with his second wife. But Wanyekí and Véye shot game for each other and for their robust wife while she bore her four husbands nine lusty children and one weakling who died.

Judging from her numerous love affairs it could never be said that Amendó was unable to cope with the sexual demands of her husbands, but, as the Kaingáng put it, she had a great deal of work to do cooking and fetching water for four hungry men and her children; so she called Nggevén, one of her husbands' nieces, to be her co-wife. Amendó had nothing to fear from the younger woman, for they had four husbands to share between them and Amendó was active in seeking enjoyment outside the bonds of matrimony. So without jealousy or disruption Nggevén moved into this household. She did not have the ignominious position[8] of the second wife that is so common in primitive societies, nor did Amendó ever attempt to drive her out. This closely-knit cooperating unit held together through the years until Nggevén had borne the four husbands ten children. Then Wanyekí and one of his co-husbands died. But although two of the oldest members of the household were dead, although Wanyekí, the husband of Amendó's youth, was dead, the remaining husbands stayed by her and hunted for her. But soon only Véye was left, for the Brazilians killed

[8] The position of the first wife is superior to that of the second only in one respect: in a case of jealous conflict the first wife never leaves.

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Amendó and the other husbands and Nggevén married her young son-in-law and went away. 545 582

In relationships like these the violent hostility between an aging father and his son, both striving for the same woman, is resolved through the son's marriage to his step-mother. This has happened over and over again in Kaingáng society, and it is one of the few instances in which a people have been able to settle this ancient conflict peaceably. Instead of being violently possessive like the typical male in our society and like not a few in his own, Wanyekí was willing to share his wives. First he relinquished two of them and then he permitted his son and other men to come and share his remaining wife. This brought peace and security not only to him but also to the men who escaped conflict through his behavior, to the innumerable sympathizers who would have taken sides in the concomitant quarreling, and to the women who escaped the beatings that an angry husband might have given them. Wanyekí possessed a foresight that Yuvén[4] lacked. Yuvén, young, jealous and possessive, drove out his two co-husbands, but as he grew older and his family multiplied he was compelled to accept Kuvén as the husband of both his wife and daughter, for only in that way did he feel that his wife and children would be adequately cared for. 542

Yakwí is another violent possessive man who got into difficulties because he was unwilling to share his wife. Although he is about sixty years old he is as vigorous as any young man. His powerful muscles bulge beneath his skin and he is tireless in the hunt. No one is faster than he at clearing land for planting. For a nomad, unused to the ways of white civilization, he is an unusually energetic farmer. His violent rages were a trial to me. His wife was not at all like him. She was given to thieving, it is true, but my battles with her were always more or less genial. She was a persistent but gentle thief. She must have been about fifty years old, wonderfully well preserved, and her skin was a beautiful golden tan. There was no doubt that Anggló wanted a kind of love-making that her husband could not give her. So she turned to her son-in-law Kanyahé. Years before she and Yakwí had had a daughter, an only child, who had married Kanyahé but died a few years before I came to the reservation. Kanyahé was about thirty years old. He too was powerfully built, and for energy in the hunt he could match Yakwí. He kept a large household supplied with meat when no one else had any. His sexuality was aggressive and open, and he carried on his affairs almost under the noses of the husbands. 237

His affair with Anggló made the older man desperate. When Anggló came home he fought with her, not daring to mention the subject of the

[4] Kanggí's father. See p. 36.